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831 By this time other adults had come and, characteristically, entirely pre-empted the children's playthings despite my attempts to prevent it. The men's play with the doll was singularly like that of the children. The interpreter made another breast and the tumukun placed the infant in a nursing position. Then followed some horseplay between the men, in which intercourse between the dolls was suggested. The attitude of some six women who were drawn by the group of boys and men was one of surprise and amazement at the doll figures, but only one of them, a barren, "masculine" woman, picked up the larger doll and played the clown with it in a mock nursing scene. Not only did the other women not touch the dolls, but much sooner than the men they lost interest and walked off.

861 Castration threats occur but seem to be rarely employed. The cases that were reported all happened in late childhood and chiefly in connection with offenses other than sexual (see Rilpada's autobiography, page 272, and Malelaka's, page 331). It is improbable that such threats are to be considered as traumatic as they may be in our culture, where they occur in connection with sexual and excretory activities that are rigorously suppressed. Further anecdotal material on masturbation, castration, and sex play is to be found in the autobiographies.

865 Obscenity both in our terms and in Alorese terms is not uncommon among children. To adults, obscene language from children is reprehensible and merits a scolding if it goes too far, but it is definitely not one of the major sources of friction between children and adults. The following observation indicates the freedom young children have in this respect.

● 196 865a Two little boys of seven and nine were racing about apparently having a very good time. The older boy began shouting "Vagina" at the younger one, apparently implying that his friend was a woman. The younger boy was answering "No, no!" each time. Finally the older boy elaborated the insult by shouting "Horse's vagina," at which the younger child redoubled his denials and the good-natured pursuit of his tormentor. Adults in the vicinity paid no attention to the children's shouting and seemed undisturbed by it.

The most common obscenity of young children, which to the Atimelanger is little more than a vulgarism, is "vagina" (*boiy*) or "your mother's vagina" (*ea boiy*). These terms also have the connotation of "to have intercourse." Adults, especially women who are given to careless speech, will use this expression frequently as an expletive of surprise. References to male and female genitals are quite freely made, and I have the impression that "evil spirit," the favorite expletive of early

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childhood, is replaced in late childhood to a large extent, but not exclusively, by the words for genitals. On the other hand, it was interesting to note in the exchange of insults accompanying mock warfare between two gangs of boys the point at which adults began to feel that the children were overstepping the bounds of what might be allowed. The boys hurled the following remarks at each other without provoking comment: "Crooked neck," "Yaws buttocks," "Eat feces," "Follow your dead mother," "Soft bellies," "Swollen throats." But two insults that brought angry protest from adults were: "Sleep with your mother; your father can't," and "May you grow hair on your penis."

AGGRESSION

The decrease of obscenity in growing children is paralleled by the decrease in actual aggressions. Boys are told to become more circumspect in their language and to avoid blows. The situation is nicely summed up in a comment on an adolescent fight in which blood had been shed. The narrator finished the story with these words, "We promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought, to fight only with words." And in order to avoid fines, words too must become more guarded as one grows older and richer. Even in fairly young boys the adult male pattern of avoiding blows begins to take effect. On the whole, I had the impression that there were far fewer physical combats among the play groups of Atimelang than among comparable groups in our schoolyards. Once when a pair of boys about thirteen and fourteen began actually hitting at each other, my camera caught what my eye failed to catch—namely, the fashion in which all the younger boys drew away from the scene in apparent fright. This, of course, is in distinct contrast to the way children in our society tend to crowd around in a circle when a fight begins.

The number of anecdotes in the autobiographies that deal with violence do not substantiate my impressionistic observations on this point. It is quite possible that adults dwell unduly in fantasy on a period that allowed freer expression of hostility.

It is interesting in this respect that the forfeit for losing games is to receive a specified number of slaps. However, despite this permissible outlet for aggression, I was struck by the casualness with which the slaps were given. Very rarely did I see either boys or girls, after winning a game of marbles or jacks for example, take vigorous advantage of this opportunity. In contrast to this should be noted the verbal aggression in a game of "hide-the-thimble." A piece of blady grass is hidden on the dance place by one player. The finder pounds the grass on a stone,

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one particularly well-built and energetic young man who was still unmarried would have difficulty in procuring a young woman as a wife because his organ was known to be undersized. His father had been concerned about it even when he was a child and had attempted to remedy the situation by massage. On another occasion some women were discussing an ailing boy of two years. They handled his genitals and shook their heads with concern because the male organs were so flaccid. Circumcision is known as a coastal, Mohammedan practice, but it is not followed by the mountain people. Fantan the Interpreter reported overhearing a conversation between two middle-aged women who were comparing the virility of their husbands. One complained that her husband was no longer able to give her sexual satisfaction.

The terms dealing with sexual activities offer two very interesting points in connection with the thesis that sex and food are inextricably associated in the minds of the Atimelangers.

male organs—*batok* (his intestine)
female organs—*boiy* (also verbal form for copulate)
orgasm—*bomin ve meli* (heart from it tasty)
male hermaphrodite—*batok muri* (his intestine orange)
female hermaphrodite—*boiy muri* (vagina orange)
philanderer—*tafui* (crab)
illegitimate child—*tafui vi* (crab child)
uvula—*kai boiy bika* (head clitoris)

Of this list perhaps the most interesting features are that the male genitals are associated with his digestive system and that an orgasm is described with a food adjective.

Homosexuality seems to be absent among adults, although again the practice was known among the troops and prisoners on the coast. The attitude is one of not quite understanding why such practices should be desirable rather than one of disapproval. Inquiries into the matter usually precipitated anecdotes about a hermaphrodite from Dikimpe who had died some twenty years before. One of the most complete accounts, which reveals social attitudes toward such a person, as well as toward the two sexes, was given by his grandnephew who had lived with him.

"When Alurkaseni was still small, he was a woman called Tilamani. People would look at him and say, 'This is like a woman but in the middle is a penis.' He wore a woman's loincloth and learned to weave baskets. He even wove areca baskets, which are the most difficult to make. He went to dances and joined in with the women. As he grew up his breasts got big, and men would tug them. Men liked him. He did

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554 578 pods. Maleata gave his brother-in-law a broken gong as part of his bride-price but received no dowry in return. Maleata sat on the verandah below his brother-in-law's house dunning for it. He said, "My brother-in-law Maliseni, why don't you give me a dowry?" Maliseni, who was angry at this persistent dunning, said, "Wah! I shan't give you a dowry! That fellow down there is one who can be looked through as far as the Kamang district. He is transparent to the Mating seen." [96] This was a very insulting speech, its implication being that Maleata was a poor man of no substance and solidity.

Maleata then went to complain to a powerful elder kinsman called Mangma, who visited Maliseni and in a placating fashion asked him, "Why are you like this?" Maliseni merely elaborated his previous insult [96] by saying, "The one down there on my verandah is like civet-cat meat; he is a floating seed. Perhaps you are going to cry?" This enraged Mangma, who then collected a group of his and Maleata's kinsmen. There were five in all.

They armed themselves and stood on their dance place to shout challenge. "Hik, hik, my friend Maliseni! We shall reckon wealth." They hung their gongs on the rocks and beat them with the sharp, rapid strokes which signal anger or catastrophe. They brought all the weapons down from their houses. The five kinsmen began to slay their pigs [602] and the pigs of all their kinsmen, thereby making them automatically their allies in the declared wealth feud. Then they set out for Lakawati, where they also had relatives, and returned carrying three pigs. On the ridge above their village they beat gongs and Maleata shouted toward Maliseni's dance place, "I bought your sister. I gave you a bride-price, and you promised me a dowry. When I came to collect it, you insulted me. (He repeated the insult verbatim.) Then I quarreled with you, but it was you who thrust a spear into your sister's carrying basket. You were richer than I, that is true. But you failed to pay my dowry, and now we shall see who is richer." As they came down the ridge they met a party of Maliseni's allies, who had also been out collecting animals. The two groups fought with bamboo throwing-spears and stones. No one was hurt, but a moko carried by the Lakawati allies of Mangma and Maleata was broken by a stone and had to be repaid by Mangma and Maleata with interest.

This type of challenge and encounter, in the course of collecting animals for slaughter, went on for several days. "A man would eat a [262 602] whole pig by himself. We were sick of meat. Everyone who was a kinsman of one side or the other had his pigs killed. The more distantly related kin of both groups of contestants tried to stay neutral by con-

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Oh, Village Guardian, track down those who have been our guests.' 539

Now in this drowsy fourth quarter of the night
We call upon you; we ask your help
That you may persistently track our many debtors.

Verse 11. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.

Listen, Guardian Spirit,
Pursue new wealth and old wealth.
From the market or from the Kamang area
Show it the way here.
Hook it up with your horn.
Let it slide in like flowing water.

SOME FINANCIAL PRESSURES

If complementary skills are minimal and esthetic outlets seem only to reinforce the premium set on financial success, it may be of some interest to turn once more to some of the institutional details involved in financial manipulations. This will give us an impression of the sort of difficulty involving chicanery and frustrations with which the less successful are incapable of coping and before which they surrender to a greater or lesser degree. In the section on marriage the obstacles of some young men in launching into the system were described. Difficult as a youth's position may sometimes be, it is only a portion of the sum of difficulties he may encounter as a man and of the distrusts and suspicions the system, as a system, is calculated to engender. 536 426

It must be evident by now that wealth consists essentially of a series of outstanding credits, not of accumulated property. But no debt is ever paid by one individual to another without a preliminary dunning, except in the case of general payoff feasts. However, to give a feast a man must work at dunning for months ahead of time to be assured of enough tangible wealth from his debtors to provide a satisfactory payoff for his creditors who crowd to the feast. The game played at such ceremonial payoffs is to force as much as possible out of the host, while he in turn has been trying to force as much as possible from his debtors. He uses a variety of magic wealth-bringing devices that range from building a new shed for his wealth-bringing spirits and placating them with food, to beating gongs and mokos morning and evening in order to draw in more gongs and mokos. The strain of debt collecting is nicely illustrated by the words used, which mean to draw (*filia*) and to tug (*tug-fil*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. 534 426 765 [illegible]

Who have accepted gifts, that they may repay them.